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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

BY WILLIAM PENN.

As unknown, and yet well known.—2 Cor. vi.



PHILADELPHIA:
FOR SALE AT FRIENDS' BOOK-STORE
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TO THE READER.



THIS following account of the people called Quakers, &c. was written in the fear and love of God: *first*, as a standing testimony to that ever blessed truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, visited my soul, and for the sense and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquish the honours and interests of the world. *Secondly*, as a testimony for that despised people, that God has in his great mercy gathered and united by his own blessed Spirit in the holy profession of it; whose fellowship I value above all worldly greatness. *Thirdly*, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy servant of God, George Fox, the first instrument thereof, and therefore styled by me, The great and blessed apostle of our day. As this gave birth to what is here presented to thy view, in the first edition of it, by way of preface to George Fox's excellent journal; so the consideration of the present usefulness of the following account of the people called Quakers, (by reason of the unjust reflections of some adversaries that once walked under the profession

of friends) and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller volume; knowing also full well, that great books, especially in these days, grow burthensome, both to the pockets and minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so it be at an easy rate) to be informed about this people, that have been so much every where spoken against: but, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill usage we have met with, being the realities of religion, an effectual change before our last and great change; that all may come to an inward, sensible and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operations of the light and spirit of Christ in themselves, the sufficient and blessed means given to all, that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, to enlighten and redeem the world: which knowledge is indeed eternal life. And that thou, reader, mayst obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

WILLIAM PENN.

RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

DIVERS have been the dispensations of God since the creation of the world unto the sons of men; but the great end of all them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man — man, the emblem of himself, as a God on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law: not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowls in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire worshipped, praised and exalted his power, wisdom and goodness! O holy sabbath! O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire

above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity; and so fell below it, lost the divine image, the wisdom, power and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God who made him had pity on him; for He, seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtilty of the serpent, (that had first fallen from his own state,) and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, (whom the serpent had first deluded,) in his infinite goodness and wisdom provided a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to that time; for both before and since his blessed manifestation in the flesh, He has been the light and life, the rock and strength of all that ever feared God; was present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and

carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this, Abel's heart excelled Cain's, Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was this that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted state of man after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels, as the Scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore that of a schoolmaster, to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in themselves. In this time the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood and external rites and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things that were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in Him, in whom it was Yea and Amen, even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

This the prophets foresaw, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it; which was the top of the Mosaical dispensation, which ended in John's ministry, the forerunner of the Messiah, as John's was fin

ished in Him, the fulness of all. And God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke then by his Son Christ Jesus, who is heir of all things; being the gospel-day, which is the dispensation of sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope, even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, of the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now the Spirit, that was more sparingly communicated in former dispensations, began to be poured forth upon all flesh, according to the prophet Joel; and the light that shined in darkness, or but dimly before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, the merciful and the persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the new Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that He will be known as such, and worshipped in the Spirit and in the Truth. He will now come nearer than of old time, and He will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and Spirit in the inward parts, according to his promise. Then signs, types, and shadows,

flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience; and all elementary services were expired in and by Him who is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's Light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God, in the newness of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness: For such "put on Christ," the light of the world, "and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the Light, Spirit and Grace, that comes by Christ, and appears in man, was what the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For which cause they advise them not to quench the Spirit, but wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, born not of flesh and blood, or of the will of man, but of the will of God, by doing his will and denying their own, by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with his baptism of self-denial; the way and path that all the heirs of life have trod to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles' days,—those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel light — some clouds, foretelling an eclipse of this prim

itive glory, began to appear ; and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair show in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came so to pass: For Christians degenerated apace into outsides, as days, and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them, separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another, to the shame and scandal of their common christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed, what they could, the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom ; or at least styled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then human inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church ; a door being opened thereunto, by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians, who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given

themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility; and as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it; in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in them which they resisted in themselves, viz. The Light, Grace and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. Though Christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting any man for matters of mere religion; religion being in its very nature meek, gentle and forbearing, and consisting of faith, hope and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot believe well or hope well, or have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind, or persecute his body, for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair. But though she lost her nature, she would keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful; constraining all to receive her mark, either in their forehead or right hand; that is, publicly or privately. But indeed and in truth she was mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots, mother of those that with all their show and outside of religion, were adulterated and gone from the Spirit, nature and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c. which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired,

solitary, and lonely state ; hidden, and as it were, out of sight of men, though not out of the world : which shows that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghost , she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return ; but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the truth.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed ; for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the Reformation, as those they reformed from ; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves, very early to earthly policy and power, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons ; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons the Reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such, as one might reasonably say, should be saved ; for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and 'noffensive under it ; being more concerned to spread

the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them; and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same way they took to stand.

In doctrine they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another; and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of man in it than of God. They owned the Spirit, Inspiration and Revelation, indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the Scriptures of truth. And this was their plea, the Scripture was the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, that remained both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers; especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased among us, to shift from vessel to vessel; and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechising children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public.

But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple; and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select. These would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches

among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion, at least of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy and goodness, rather than by the terror of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have terrified people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophecy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor, (whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate,) if such found anything pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity — persons of any trade, be it never so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worse, turned some of them absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, who but so lately came themselves out of the furnace; which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water — another baptism — as believing they were not scripturally baptized; and hoping to find that

presence and power of God, in submitting to this ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people made also profession of neglecting, it not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use of all human learning, as to the ministry, and and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men; and for a time they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain and serious; strong in Scripture and bold in profession; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their hurt. For worldly power spoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more; and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghost, which was His baptism, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal they grew high, rough and self-righteous, opposing further attainment; too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; insomuch that many left them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find Him (as their souls desired to know Him) whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others; because, as they came to

the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do, but waited together in silence; and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a divine spring, so they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after an abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God and waited daily in the temple not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel, the Jew inward, and circumcision in Spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters, from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Insomuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending in excuse thereof, that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it; which was to make sin

superabound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness—a securer way of sinning than before : as if Christ came not to save us from our sins, but in our sins ; not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state ; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

It was about that time, that the eternal, wise and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high ; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say ; glory be to the name of the Lord forever !

For as it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which people had been vainly seeking *without*, with much pains and cost, they, by this ministry, found *within*, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God ; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all — a faithful and true witness, and just monitor in every bosom — the gift and grace of God, to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it. This the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, and overcome with blind zeal

and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestations of God's power and Spirit in man in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those Jews of old, who rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and the lesser with rage; and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony straight and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort and establish the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, help only from above: seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but Christ himself, the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother. And like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power, and with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake

And truly they were very many, and very great; so

that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them ; but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority, so that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted away before the power that filled them ; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, that all things were possible with him with whom they had to do ; and that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and to carry them through all to his glory ; — insomuch, that if ever any people could say in truth, “Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight,” these people had a right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls from the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts ; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof what God had done for them ; what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. the way to peace with God ; inviting them to come, and see, and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the principal of God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom,

as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince and sanctify man, so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for, how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one; and what it would do for all those whose minds are turned off from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin, in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions; giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith and good works: that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness overrun with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed Spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance: and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened; so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of consolation, and all

by the same Spirit and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness ; and by the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful ; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the 'Truth in the inward parts through their testimony in ministry and sufferings ; insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase, notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed progress, by false rumours, calumnies and bitter persecutions ; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them : so that they seemed indeed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the contents of their cruel sufferings from professors as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble : so that it may be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious Seed, the Seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, (the finest, the highest that man's wit can use,) but in power — the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that He might rule angels above, and men below ; who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned through their ministry from darkness to the light, and out of the broad in-

the narrow way of life and peace, bringing people to a weighty, serious and godlike conversation ; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And, as without this secret divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this generating and begetting power and life, is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. Oh ! that both ministers and people were sensible of this. My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. Oh ! that they were wise. Oh ! that they would consider, and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace.

Two things are to be considered ; the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric ; and indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz. The Light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, repentance from dead works to serve the living God ; which comprehends three operations : first, a sight of sin ; secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for it ; thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came sight ; and of sight came sense and sorrow and of sense and sorrow came amendment

of life : which doctrine of repentance leads to justification, that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ the alone propitiation ; and to the sanctification or purgation of the soul, from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul ; which is justification in the complete sense of that word ; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past (as if they had never been committed) through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus ; and the creature's being made inwardly just, through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul ; which is commonly called sanctification. But that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice that reject Him as their Sanctifier ; the end of His coming being to save His people from the nature and defilement, as well as guilt of sin ; and that therefore those that resist His Light and Spirit, make His coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling to all true Christians, viz. perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of Truth ; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of His kingdom, and for which His Spirit was and is given. viz. to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, and holy, because God is holy. And this the apostles laboured for, that the Christians should be sanctified throughout in body, soul and spirit ; but they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities, or death, as some have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, this leads to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else, of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable, who, for above forty years, have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of men; yea, as the refuse and off-scouring of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost by men's departing from that Principle and Seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of; and in and by which only he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the Holy Spirit; so that which they pressed, was not notion, but experience; not formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that without holiness no man shall ever see the Lord with comfort.

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy

of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples : as,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them : They will meet, they will help and stick one to another. Whence it is common to hear some say : Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another. Others, less moderate, will say : The Quakers love none but themselves : and if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised. For they did not only refuse to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them ; of which many and singular instances might be given ; endeavouring, through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian, for others to follow.

III. Another was, the sufficiency of truth-speaking, according to Christ's own form of sound words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among Christians, without swearing ; both from Christ's express prohibition to swear at all, Mat. v., and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath ; and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking ; simple and uncompounded answers,

as yea, and nay, (without asseverations, attestations, or supernatural vouchers,) being most suitable to evangelical righteousness. But offering at the same time to be punished to the full, for false speaking, as others for perjury, if ever guilty of it. And hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was, and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting, but suffering, is another testimony peculiar to this people. They affirm that Christianity teacheth people to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more; that so the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people; exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against Satan, and no longer war one against another; because all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts' lusts, according to the apostle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Christ Jesus, who is captain of another warfare, which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as truth-speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and patience succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, since if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves. And, Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with all its inconveniences, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting,

they were for submitting to government ; and that, not only for fear, but for conscience-sake, where government doth not interfere with conscience ; believing it to be an ordinance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour than any other persuasion in this age ; whilst they, of all others, religion set aside, have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people, was, and is, they refuse to pay tithes or maintenance to a national ministry ; and that for two reasons : the one is, they believe all compelled maintenance, even to gospel ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, " Freely you have received, freely give : " at least, that the maintenance of gospel ministers should be free, and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not gospel ones, in that the Holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts. So that it is not matter of humour or sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell, which are but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was, and is another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. Though to virtue and authority

they ever made a difference ; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way ; well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu, but more especially the command of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, who forbad his followers to call men Rabbi, which implies lord or master ; also the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times ; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident in his fallen estate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable, yet they that will remember what Christ said to the Jews, “ How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another,” will abate of their resentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain language of *thee* and *thou* to a single person, whatever was his degree among men ; and indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance ; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirits of those they came among ; showing their insides, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, “ Thou me, thou my dog ! If thou thou’st me, I’ll thou thy teeth down thy throat ;” forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common style of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech. And what good, alas ! had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation for the use of this plain, honest and true speech ?

VIII. They recommended silence by their example,

having very few words upon all occasions. They were at a word in dealing; nor could their customers, with many words, tempt them from it, having more regard to truth than custom, to example than gain. They sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear unnecessary or unlawful discourses; whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions. Nor could they humour the custom of Good night, Good morrow, God speed; for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without wishing of either; and that, in the other expression, the holy name of God was too lightly and unthankfully used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burthensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forebore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is; a practice that is not only unnecessary, but, they thought, evil in the tendencies of it, being a provocation to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and shows a distinguishing care above other societies professing Christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage; therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate; but the man and woman con-

cerned, take each other as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them. But antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to inquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting passes the proposals of marriage; advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage; where they take one another by the hand, and by name promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative in way of certificate is made, to which the said

parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators and auditors set their names as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law a good marriage; where it has been by cross and ill people disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring, &c.; ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no Scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another. And therefore this people look upon it as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy. And for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was a heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians. The words of the usual form, as, "With my body I thee worship," &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any form now used; and this mode is free of the inconveniences with which other methods are attended; their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children; which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were

at the birth ; who afterwards sign a certificate for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children ; which is recorded in a proper book, in the Monthly Meeting to which the parents belong ; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any public meeting-place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the burying ground ; and it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some one or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together ; after which the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of the neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party ; the corpse being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning ; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp ; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which only is sensible of the loss ; and the love they had to them, and

remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone. And as they aim at no more, so, that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction, though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things to be sure gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality, who thought them turners of the world upside down, as indeed, in some sense they were; but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz. to bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humour, or for civil distinction, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others: it being none of their business, as it was not their interest; no, it was not the result of consultation or a framed design by which to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth, and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world." And from thence sprang, in the night of darkness and apostacy which hath been over people through their degeneration

from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs ; which are seen by the heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul, to be, either wrong in their original, or, by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinion, there was and is more in them, than they were aware of.

It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world ; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it. But here was the wisdom of God seen in the foolishness of these things ; *first*, That they discovered the satisfaction and concern that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another, in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom and ability, were unwelcome without them. *Secondly*, It seasonably and profitably divided conversation ; for this making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude ; wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God their Redeemer, and grew strong in his love, power and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service. And the success abundantly showed it : blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world, (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority,) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persua-

sions they were in, and of the most repute for religion ; and many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men.

And also some among them wanted not for parts, learning or estate ; though then, as of old, not many wise, or noble, &c. were called, or at least received the heavenly call, because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity. But neither do parts nor learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants ; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, speculation and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. Oh ! it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul, that is the Christian. And that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus ; whose life, though hid in the fulness of it in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe, according to their capacity. Oh ! that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them new creatures indeed ; re-created or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works ; that they might live to God, and not to themselves, and offer up living prayers and living praises to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which only he is to be worshipped in this gospel-day.

Oh ! that they that read me could but feel me ; for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it ? Why should they lose

the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, "Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear? Oh! that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, in earth as it is in heaven. Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee." Oh! this were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas! the case is otherwise: for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiffneckedness; because thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the rock, even thy rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession! to receive him into thy heart. Behold at that door it is, he hath stood so long knocking; but thou wilt yet have none of him. Oh! be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily doest.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would He have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance, to have known his power and

kingdom ; for which He often knocked within, by his grace and Spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses. But on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipped and imprisoned his servants ; so hast thou, O land ! crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace ; slighting the Fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates ; though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and Spirit of the Lord, in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them. Thou hast set at nought all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have had. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean for thee to receive them ; like the Jews of old, that cried, “ Is not this the carpenter’s son, and are not his brethren among us ; which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him ? ” prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing severe laws to bring it to pass ; endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people, among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties without and within, which they **have** laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first

gathered them, they are an increasing people; the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the world; and therefore thy light, and life too, if thou wouldst but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. For in the Light of the Lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk, as the Scripture testifies.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his word in thy heart, that thou mayst live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this which is come to thy house, O England! for why shouldst thou die, O land that God desires to bless? Be assured it is He that has been in the midst of this people, in the midst of thee; and not a delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life

and more Godly conversation that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion; which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows, whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God; regeneration and holiness. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part to the soul; as all, upon a serious reflection, must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle in themselves, though not of themselves, by which all that they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true; which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test.

For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this principle, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretended to. They declare of religion, say many things true, in words, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. But which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience; or ever directed to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them?

Some of them indeed have spoken of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform our duty to God, was yet as a mystery to be declared by this farther degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words, more than equally press repentance, conversion and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls' happiness. Which is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministers depend; fo

here is certainty ; a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministering from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon Scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living conscience. Insomuch that it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out, of this inward appearance of Christ: "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." And those that have embraced this divine principle have found this mark of its truth and divinity, (as the woman of Samaria did of Christ, when in the flesh, that he was the Messiah,) viz. "It had told them all that ever they had done;" shown them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can, at this day, give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half

had not been told them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom and goodness of God therein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this principle fitted, even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service; furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and taking way of expression, which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, "Is not this such a mechanic's son, how came he by this learning?" As from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, (who had the reputation of learned men for an age past,) though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection; in that their ministers are known, the places of their abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth low, and despised and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, have done. But in all things it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

VIII. They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse; to spend and be spent; leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits, by the good Spirit and power of God, viz.

That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God, and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness, (viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences,) and after the vanity of this world, they lie, and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light, and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, should cleanse them from all sin. Thus John i. 4, 19. Chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John, i. 5, 6, 7

IX. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it; and that sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruising, long and crowded imprisonments, and noisome dungeons; four of them in New England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people; besides banishments and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

X. That they did not only not show any disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; showing mercy to those that had none for them.

XI. Their plainness with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them to their faces of their private and public sins; and their prophecies

to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory; also of some national judgments, as of the plague, and fire of London, in express terms; and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them, that were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt; which in time may be made public for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry and progress, both their general and particular testimony; by which thou mayest be informed how, and upon what foot they sprang and became so considerable a people. It remains next that I show also their care, conduct and discipline, as a Christian and reformed society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny, indeed, has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

This people increasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and divers other services in the

church, and intrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services; and in case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others. And it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first Instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to

begin and establish it among them. And by his epistles the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited, and helped in that service; which shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which are now practised among this people, is as followeth.

This godly elder, in every country where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting for worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those Monthly Meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county: four or six meetings for worship, usually making one monthly meeting for business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz.: For the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c. And that these Monthly Meetings should in each county, make up one Quarterly Meeting, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a Monthly Meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several Quarterly Meetings should digest the reports of their Monthly Meetings, and prepare one for each respective county against the Yearly Meeting, in which all Quarterly Meetings resolve; which is held in London; where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by cho-

sen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to advise, and be advised, in any depending case, to edification : also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter ; but the mind of each Quarterly Meeting, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed, or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During their Yearly Meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein, to the end that the respective Quarterly and Monthly Meetings may be informed of all proceedings ; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity and charity. Of all which proceedings in the Yearly, Monthly and Quarterly meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings of worship.

It is further to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the churches' service, there is no one presides

among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people; Christ only being their President, as He is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction, which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and Spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world. So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. to oversee, exhort, reprove, and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them, as any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour, as any of them, until they repent. The subject-matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised; is first, in relation to common and general practice; and secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which

distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz. persecution and libertinism; that is, a coercive power, to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates: or leaving all loose and at large, as to practice, and so unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church power, by such as suffer their passion and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment — a practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society; an unaccountableness, in practice and conversation, to the rules and terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship, (which is never to be done or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more civil part and concern; and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the society as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke, is their use and limit of church power. They compel none to join them, but oblige those that are of

them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian society can exercise, upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding against such as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: he is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal, for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to own his fault and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given by him; which for the most part is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand: and if it so happen, that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess, from the reproach of his or her evil doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact, and the party offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their profession and themselves by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are received and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people, upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, prin

ciplēs and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place, because it is to preface the journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work, and for a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and which are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, His faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

I am now come to the third head or branch of my subject, viz. The instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, Well, here is the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument—he that in this age was sent to begin this work and people? I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse, and intimate knowledge of him; for which my soul blesseth God as it hath often done: and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my subject, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of and in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of *younger* to his name, in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the Truth: but he was also a worthy man, witness and servant of God in his time.

But this George Fox was born in Leicestershire

about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation: especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in divine things.

His mother, taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom and piety, that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company when very young, was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business, and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth: but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts. And some there were in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel, night and day, as Zacharias, Anna, and good

old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned, till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of, and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. For in the Word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the Word, light in men; and life in men too, as the light is obeyed: the children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God: and to which whoever comes, is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-running of the gospel-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain (in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it) he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a public ministry, to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one

sheepfold in all the earth. There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory, and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his Leader indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of those that came forth in a public ministry, and which are now at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Thomas Low, Josiah Coale, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salt-house, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement, who, after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them; sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway side: calling people

to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good will; being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped and imprisoned, though honest men, and of good report where they lived, that had left wives, children, houses, and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty conviction over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw, Judge Fell, and Colonel West, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood; and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country: but especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people. For his wife receiving the Truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth.

that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil minded people; which I here mention to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family, as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the Truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years, at first especially, till the Truth had opened its way into the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others, of good note and substance in those northern countries, had also opened their houses, together with their hearts, to the many publishers, that, in a short time, the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man; and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral and divine, as they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of others' spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty

and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it showed beyond all contradiction, that God sent him; in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings show they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men. And the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes." For many times hath my soul bowed in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age, of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of high degree, or elegant speech, or learned after the way of this world, that his message and work, he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion, or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of truth

in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's strength, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ, and by Christ, the true Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed

to be of God ; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men ; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busybody, nor self-seeker ; neither touchy nor critical. What fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where, and in all ; but with love, compassion, and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. 'Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them ; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer : for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland and Ireland ; turning many to God, and confirming those that were con

vinced of the truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years 1671 and 1677, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates, to the conviction and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London. And besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent and serviceable, he wrote much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world use to come. Which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is weekly held for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearyed, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people. He was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other places and exercises, did

abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and they became their greatest trouble ; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people ; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent ; that as he had the principle in himself, he should stand or fall to that only, and nobody else : not considering that the principle is one in all ; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same ; and being so, they struck at the spiritual : nity, which a people, guided by the same principle, are naturally led into : so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good repute to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal principle which is common to all, and which the disaffected also profess to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the

people of God drink, and come to be spiritually-minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same things that dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward, (and as I may say,) civil part of the church; that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen, through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy even to a prejudice; yet blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them, that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and

indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty ; yet he never abused it ; but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all ; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the head and care over the body ; and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age : who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day, because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true ; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature ; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land ; in this and in foreign countries : and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things ; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where : civil beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour ; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us. And as he

lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death; and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to some of us with him, the dispatch and dispersion of an epistle just before given forth by him to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books; but above all, friends, and of all friends, those in Ireland and America; twice over saying, Mind poor friends in Ireland and America.

And to some that came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord:" which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard street, on the first day of the week, and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us.

In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children in the truth to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that being dead, he yet speaketh; and though now absent in body, he is present in spirit: neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my subject, when I have left this short epitaph to his name: "Many sons have done virtuously

in this day; but dear George, thou excellest them all."

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into; suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end; causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and

waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster or fell short in our services, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves a rebuke instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of well-done, who has required this at your hands? In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, relations and acquaintance, and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt God present: which kept our conversation innocent, serious and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world.

We held the Truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affections: they were bowed and brought into subjection, insomuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of Truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, strict and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided

them what we could ; pursuing our own business, with moderation, instead of meddling with other peoples, unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. Oh ! how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to Truth's life as well as Truth's principles ! And how entire and united in our communion, as indeed became those that profess one Head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, That we continue to be found in the way of this testimony, with all zeal and integrity, and so much the more, by how much the day draweth near.

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry : Oh ! feel life in your ministry—let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury on all such

occasions : else you well know, there can be no begetting to God, since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God ; and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministries, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts, or memory, or the repetition of former openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best : there is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz. : Christ the power of God. This is the key of David, that opens and none shuts, and shuts and none can open : as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words : which made Christ to say, " My words, they are Spirit, and they are life ; " that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive, that receive them. If the disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem till they received it, much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever wait reverently, for the coming and opening of the Word of Life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little or be it much, it is well ; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit ; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take Him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, that "He that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written in this book." To keep back the counsel of God is as terrible; for "he that takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." And truly, it has great caution in it, to those that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the number of those that add to the words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to outgo our Guide, nor yet loiter behind him; since he that makes haste, may miss his way, and he that stays behind, lose his guide. For even those that have received the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one that hath received the word of the Lord; to miss in the dividing and application of it; which must come from an impa-

tience of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture, and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this above all other considerations, as to public brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved and continued in the manifestations, motions and supplies of the same life and power, from time to time.

And wherever it is observed, that any do minister more from gifts and parts, than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency; to forsake Christ the living fountain, and hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living waters: and by degrees, such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: since

no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say ; and that must be waited for.

Oh ! that we may have no other fountain, treasure or dependence ! That none may presume at any rate to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God ; that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care and more liberty in speaking than formerly ; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember, who it was that said, "Of yourselves ye can do nothing." Our sufficiency is in him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take thought what we should say to men in our defence when exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, or take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry, in the name of our Lord, to the souls of the people ; for then of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit ; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is from the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they

went forth ; and in this, our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached us. And having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh. For what is the flesh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat ? And if we keep in the Spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of the fellowship. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which gives you frequent opportunities, and great place with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the Word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them : but, as was the practice of the man of God before mentioned, in great measure, when among us, to inquire the state of the several churches you visit ; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, and if any are unfaithful or obstinate ; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects ; the afflicted will

be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation ; which is clinching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony, by this particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places ; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among ; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travel as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less ? And if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it, in their own cases ? Thus ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the praise of His name, that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from Satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And Oh ! that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord ! Never more need since the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves

within these bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country-folks, neighbours and kindred want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is one which judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance. May you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But Oh! let it be your servant, and not your master! Your diversion rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye; and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do: and if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you young convinced ones, be you intreated and

exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your snare: neither act by imitation, but sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves: crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor over-run, in your desires and warmth of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind; but it is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, imagination and liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections, to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your own selves. So will a true taste, discerning and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted, as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren; and be ready to every good word and work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, an holy nation, and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the dust. O you young men and women! let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the second Adam, by a spiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot be of his children or offspring. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! Consider your standing, and see what you are in relation to this divine kindred, family and birth. Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed of the Word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again? God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save or answer for the child, or the child for the father; but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale

against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine, but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of. And you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors and forsaken of father and mother for God's sake and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers, in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings that he has filled them with, in the sight of their enemies, should neglect and turn your backs upon so great and near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord. But **Oh!** that it may never be so with any of you. The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women! look to the rock of your fathers. There is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors as well as professors of the truth, embracing it, not only by education, but judgment and conviction; from a sense be-

gotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God ; by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham, through faith, and the circumcision not made with hands ; and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers, of an incorruptible crown : that, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men ; and the more so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised upon a principle, with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession, without that salt and savour by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, or your parents' care, or the mind of truth in yourselves, or in those that are without : who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if they do that make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and show themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities, that your fathers, for the truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon ; but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the

children of God ; so that it may never be said of you, as the Evangelist writes of the Jews in his time, that Christ, the true Light, “ came to his own, but his own received him not ; but to as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the children of God ; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God : ” a most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God’s people, by being the children, and wearing of the form of God’s people. And He, by his Light in you, may be very well said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your backs upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that “ received him not ; ” which I pray God may never be your case and judgment ; but that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care ; and with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience ; that your children’s children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example, as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their nature, but spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this account with a few words to

those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come ; especially those of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the holy image, that through sin you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And Oh ! that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your hearts ! For there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking that you might let him in, but you do not open to him. You are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly entreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you, ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity ; if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the Gospel. Have you known the baptism of fire, and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff in your minds, and carnal lusts and affections ? — that divine leaven of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout in body soul, and spirit ? If this be not

the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You will say, perhaps, "That though you are sinners, and live in daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified," as I have been speaking, "yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteousness being imputed to you."

But, my Friends, let me entreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean: it will sanctify you; for the saints' faith was their victory of old. By this they overcame sin within, and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature; new made, new fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become new; new love, desires, will, affections, and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one; but it is Christ that liveth in thee; and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain; because thou art assured that thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality, and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial? Hear what the

beloved disciple tells you: "If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." That is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly, in that state, have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes them with his righteousness, that receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy; of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is not the less Christ's, because we have it; for it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption. It is the gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from ourselves, (for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him,) yet it is ours, and must be ours in possession, efficacy and enjoyment, to do us any good; or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made, to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony: whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance. It was, and yet is (we know) a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it. But it is of God, it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make

another to know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The World talks of God, but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the principle in which it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for is in themselves, though not of themselves; but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness. They are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil. But the woman that lost her silver, found it at home, after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. *Truth*: truth in the inward parts, so valuable in the sight of God.

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition,) leads all, that take heed unto it, out of darkness into God's marvellous light. For light grows upon the obedient; it is "sown for the righteous," and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you. Where is the poison, there is the antidote: there you want Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. Seek and you shall find, I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives; diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure,

comfort or satisfaction, in any thing else, unless you find him whom your souls desire to know and love above all. Oh! it is a travail, a spiritual travail, let the carnal, profane world, think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why, first, it sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. Secondly, it begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience, and how you have made him to serve with your sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. Thirdly, after this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprise you not again. Then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment; which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed; for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here communion with the Father, and with the Son you will know, and

the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaks better things than the blood of Abel ; and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those that through the living faith, come to be sprinkled with it, from dead works, to serve the living God.

To conclude, behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers ! Behold their practice and discipline ! And behold the blessed man and men (at least many of them) that were sent of God in this excellent work and service ! All which is more particularly expressed in the Annals of that man of God, which I do heartily recommend to my readers' most serious perusal ; and beseech Almighty God, that his blessing may go along with both, to the conviction of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation ; and also to the edification of God's church in general : who for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving and renown ; and be it rendered and ascribed with fear and reverence, through him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen,

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call ; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and who, knowing the beauty and benefit of

it above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection,

Thy Soul's Friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

THE END.

A KEY,

OPENING

THE WAY TO EVERY CAPACITY

HOW TO DISTINGUISH

THE RELIGION

PROFESSED BY THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

FROM THE

PERVERSIONS AND MISREPRESENTATIONS
OF THEIR ADVERSARIES.

WITH

A BRIEF EXHORTATION TO ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE TO EXAMINE
THEIR WAYS AND THEIR HEARTS, AND TURN
SPEEDILY TO THE LORD.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA.

FOR SALE AT FRIENDS' BOOK-STORE
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A KEY, &c.



INTRODUCTION.

Reader,

OBSERVING the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great easiness of mankind to be imposed upon by designing persons, and especially on the side of uncharitableness, so depraved is the nature of man, and considering also what mischievous effects that evil hath produced among all sorts of people, to the hurt of civil as well as religious society, by the coldness, jealousy, uncharitableness and animosity, even to hatred and persecution, the very contraries of the true Christian religion, that have thereby abounded, we have the less wondered at the hard treatment which we, as a people, have suffered from other persuasions; almost all of them having in their turn, some, I hope, ignorantly, others, I fear, wilfully, misrepresented our principles, misgiven our plain meanings, and called their own strained interpretations and downright perversions, our faith and religion. Thus dressing us in the bear's skin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as heretics, seducers, blasphemers, and what not, while, blessed be God, our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our souls, that we might be God's workmanship through Christ Jesus, his blessed Son and heavenly agent;

taking this to be the very life and soul of true religion, the effect and fruit of the Divine nature, which makes us Christians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And because we have chosen retirement, moderation and self-denial, which to be sure are the solids and inwards, the spirit and substance of religion, and have therefore sequestered ourselves from more outward and pompous communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been disingenuously represented to the world. On which account I have published this little treatise, for the sake of others, as well as in our own vindication, but theirs especially, that are under prejudices from vulgar abuses. I would entreat such to consider, that if it be an evil to judge rashly or untruly of any single man, how much greater sin it is to condemn a whole people. And if the matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or less evil, certainly to condemn the religion of a whole people in the lump, which comprehends their faith, worship and morals also, must be, if false or mistaken, as great an injustice as can well be committed, and the Almighty will not hold them guiltless who have been so uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. This we have frequently lamented as our great unhappiness, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge against us, that we are yet unknown of those that stick not to condemn us. But they must certainly be inexcusable with just minds, who will take our belief at the hands of our enemies rather than at our own, who best ought to know what we believe. It will be the business of this little key to explain the pretended obscurity, and show the difference between

our principles and the vulgar account and apprehensions, and thereby open a way to so clear and plain an understanding of our true principles, distinguished from our enemies' perversions, that we hope, with God's blessing, all impartial inquirers will be satisfied of our holy and Christian profession. This we also earnestly desire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a people to his praise, through his grace, so none may stumble or be offended at the truth we testify of; but seeing the excellency of it, by the peace and purity it leads into, they may embrace it and walk in it; which is the best way to end controversy and obtain the great and true end of religion, the salvation of the soul.

SECTION I. *Of the Light within, what it is, and the virtue and benefit of it to man.*

Perversion 1. The Quakers hold, That the natural light in the conscience of every man in the world, is sufficient to save all that follow it; and so they overthrow salvation by Christ.

A mighty error indeed, if it were true.

Principle. But it is at best a great mistake. For their belief and assertion is, That Christ, who is the Word that was with God, and was God, and is so for ever, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his own light, as he is that true light, or such a light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphasis true in the text, John i. 9. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions and leadings of that light, with which he

enlightens the understandings and consciences of men shall not walk in darkness, that is, in evil and ignorance of God, but shall have the light of life; that is, be in a holy and living state or condition towards God; a state of acceptance and salvation, which is from sin here, as well as from wrath hereafter, for which end Christ was given of God. So that they assert the light of Christ, to be sufficient to save, that is, to convince of sin, lead out of it and quicken the soul in the ways of holiness, and not to be a natural light; but as all men, born into the world, have a measure of Christ's light, so it may, in a sense, be said to be natural to all men, because all men who come into the world have it. This light is something else than the bare understanding man hath as a rational creature; since, as such, man cannot be a light to himself; but has only a capacity of seeing, by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a mental or intellectual light to ourselves, than we are an external and corporeal light to ourselves. But as the sun in the firmament is the light of our bodies, so the light of the Divine Word is the sun of our souls; the glorious luminary of the intellectual world, and they that walk in it, will by it be led to blessedness.

Pervers. 2. The Quakers hold, That the light within them is God, Christ and the holy Spirit; so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ and holy Spirit in him which is gross blasphemy.

Princ. This is also a mistake of their belief. They never said that every Divine illumination or manifestation of Christ, in the hearts of men, was whole God,

Christ or the Spirit, which might render them guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them. But that God, who is light, or the Word Christ, who is light, styled the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening Spirit, who is God over all, blessed for ever, hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light; who said, I am the Light of the world, and they that follow me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life. So that the illumination is from God, or Christ, the Divine Word; but not therefore that whole God or Christ is in every man, any more than the whole sun or air is in every house or chamber. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings. It is only a frightful perversion by some of their enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith.

Yet in a sense the Scriptures say it, and that is their sense, in which only, they say the same thing. I will walk in them and dwell in them. He that dwelleth with you, shall be in you: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you: I in them and they in me: Christ in us, the hope of glory. Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail again in birth, until Christ be formed in you. Now if they who denied his coming in the flesh, though highly professing Jews, were to be accounted antichrists, because enemies to that appearance and dispensation of God to men; what must they be reputed, who as stiffly disown his inward, nearer and more spiritual coming, formation and dominion in the soul; which is, to be sure, the higher and nobler knowledge of Christ? Yea, the mystery hid from ages and now

revealed to God's people; the riches of the glory of the mystery which God reserved to be made known to the Gentiles, of whose stock we are. Certainly, though they are called Christians, they must be no whit less anti-christs than those obstinate Jews of old, who opposed his more visible and bodily appearance.

Pervers. 3. By the Quakers' doctrine, every man must be saved; for every man, they say, is savingly enlightened.

Princ. Not so either: for though the light or grace of God hath and doth more or less appear to all men, and brings salvation to as many as are taught by it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world, as the Scripture teacheth; yet it no way follows that men must obey and learn so to do, whether they will or not. God tenders saving light or grace to all, and by it calls all, and strives and pleads with all, according to the measure and manifestation of it; but if they will not hearken to it, he is clear of their blood. His light is saving that lighteth them, but it cannot be said to save them, while they rebel against it. In short, though men are enlightened or visited with a saving light or grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their testimony, that such men must necessarily and absolutely be saved, whether they obey or rebel.

Pervers. 4. By the Quakers' Light or Spirit, they may be moved to murder, treason, theft, or any such like wickedness, because they say that such as are so led, have the light within them.

Princ. This never was their doctrine, nor is it con-

sequent of it. For though they hold that all have light, they never said that all obeyed it, or that evil men, as such, or in such things, were led by it. Much less could the light be chargeable with the sins of those who refused to be led by it. For herein they know the spirit of God and the motions of it, from the spirit of this world and its fruits, that the spirit of God condemns all ungodliness, and moves and inclines to purity, mercy, and righteousness, which are of God.

They deny and abominate that loose and ranting mind, which would charge the spirit of God with their unholy liberty. God's spirit makes people free from sin, and not to commit sin. Neither do they distinguish, as such loose people wickedly do, between the act and the evil of it. Wherefore they say, that as the tree is known and denominated by its fruits, so spirits are by their influences, motions, and inclinations; and the spirit of God never did incline any one to evil. For that cause they renounce this construction of the Ranters, that evil is no evil when they are led to it by God's spirit; for that grossly implies, as if the spirit of God led man at any time to that which is evil in itself, or that it were possible to be sinless in the commission of sin, as murder, theft, revenge, &c. For that never was or can be the way and method of God's spirit, which is pure and holy for ever; and brings all who regard the convictions and motions of it, into a sense and sorrow for sin, and so leads them into a state of reformation, without which, all profession of religion is mere formality, and hypocrisy. So that man's sin and destruction are of himself, but his help is in God alone, through Jesus Christ, our blessed sacrifice and sanctifier.

SECTION II. *Of Infallibility and Perfection.*

Pervers. 5. The Quakers must all be infallible and perfect, if they have such an infallible Light in them.

Princ. No such matter: this is also a great abuse of their true meaning. They say, the spirit of Truth is pure, perfect, unerrable in itself, or else it were very unfit to lead men out of error and impurity. But they never did assert themselves such, merely because it was within them: by no means. But that all who are led by it, and live according to its manifestation, are so far perfect, and so far infallible in the right way, as they are led by it, and not a jot farther. For it is not opinion, or speculation, or notions of what is true; or assent to, or the subscription of articles, or propositions, though never so soundly worded, which, according to their sense, makes a man a true believer, or a true Christian. But it is a conformity of mind and practice to the will of God, in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of this holy Spirit of light and life in the soul, which denotes a person truly a child of God. For the children of God are led by the spirit of God, but if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And let it be noted, that though this spirit be in man, yet it is not of man, but of God, through Jesus Christ. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon self, and a more depending one upon the grace or gift of God? Let us not, I pray, be mistaken, nor suffer for such misapprehensions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpose to disrepute us with sober people, or to support

the mistaken charges of our enemies. Yet to show that a state of perfection from sin (though not in fulness of wisdom and glory) is attainable in this life, they, among others, refer to these Scriptures, which for brevity's sake, are not set down at large, but the reader is desired to turn to them :

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1—8; ii., iii., &c.; viii. 20. Psal. xviii. 32; xxxvii. 37; cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Matt. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9—11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Thes. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. 5—10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John i. 6, 7, 8, 9; ii. 20—27; iii. 5, 6, 7, 8; iv. 17.

SECTION III. *Of the Scriptures, their truth, authority, and service.*

Pervers. 6. The Quakers deny the Scriptures, for they deny them to be the Word of God.

Princ. They own and style the Scriptures, as they own and style themselves; viz., a declaration of those things most truly believed, given forth in former ages, by the inspiration of the holy Spirit; consequently that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. They are the form of sound words. We profess to believe them, and read them; and say it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earnest desire of our souls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witness the fulfilling of them in and upon ourselves; that so God's will may be done in earth, as it

is in heaven. But to call them the Word of God, the ground of the charge, which they never call themselves, but by which they peculiarly denominate and call Christ; in reverence to Christ, and in no slight to them (which we believe to be of Divine authority, and embrace as the best of books, and allow to be as much the word of God, as a book can be), they do, as in duty and reason bound, attribute that title to Christ only.

And yet as the word of God may, in some sense, signify the command of God, referring to the thing or matter commanded, as the mind of God, it may be called the word of the Lord, or word of God: as, on particular occasions, the prophets had the word of the Lord to persons and places; that is to say, the mind or will of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Christ uses it, when he tells the Pharisees, that they had made the word (or command) of God of none effect, by their traditions. But because people are so apt to think, if they have the Scriptures they have all (for that they account them the only word of God, and so look no farther; that is, to no other Word, from whence those good words came), therefore this people have been constrained, and they believe, by God's good spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, Christ Jesus, in whom is life, and that life the light of men; that they might feel something nearer to them than the Scriptures, to wit, the Word in the heart, from whence all holy Scripture came, which is Christ within them, the hope of their glory. And to be sure he is the only right expounder as well as the author of holy Scripture,

without whose light, spirit, or grace, they cannot be savingly read by those that read them.

Pervers. 7. They deny them to be any means whereby to resist temptation.

Princ. This is a very uncharitable aspersion. True it is, that they deny the Scriptures merely, or of themselves, to be sufficient to resist temptations; for then all that have them and read them, would be sure to be preserved by them against temptations. But that they should deny them to be any means or instrument in God's hand, is either great ignorance or injustice in their adversaries. God hath made use of the Scriptures, and daily doth and will make use of them, for instruction, reproof, comfort, and edification, through the Spirit, to those that read them as they ought to do. Thus they say they have felt them, and so they have been and are made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their spirits, in the reading and considering of them; and wish heartily they were more in request with the professors of Christianity.

SECTION IV. *Of the holy Spirit of God, and its office, with respect to man, and of ministry, &c.*

Pervers. 8. The Quakers assert the Spirit of God to be the immediate teacher, and that there is no other means now to be used, as ministry, ordinances, &c.

Princ. They never spoke such language, and their daily practice confutes the reflection. But here we perceive the great subtilty of satan, as well as in other things, to darken the appearance of the Truth, and prepossess people's minds against it. For since he

cannot hinder the exaltation of the Spirit above all visible instruments, nor the necessity of its manifestations, convictions, motions, and operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great suitableness thereof to the Gospel administration, he would spoil all by overdoing the matter, and carrying our assertions beyond bounds. They never denied the use of means, but to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are such means as are used in the life and power of God, and not in and from man's mere wit, will, or carnal invention or imitation; the only thing they strike at. For instance, they cannot own that to be a Gospel ministry, that is without a Gospel Spirit, or that such can be sent of God who are not taught of God, or that they are fit to teach others what regeneration and the way to heaven are, who have never been born again themselves; or that such can bring souls to God, who are themselves strangers (like those in the Acts xix. 21) to the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost; never having been circumcised with the circumcision of the heart in the Spirit, Rom. ii. 29: which is so absolutely necessary to make a true Jew, or a real Christian, and consequently the requisite qualification of a Gospel ministry.

This unexperienced and lifeless ministry, is the only ministry, and such the only ministers, that the people called Quakers cannot own and receive, and therefore cannot maintain. For the ministry and the ministers that are according to Scripture, they both own, respect, and delight in, and are ready to assist and support in their service for God.

It is strange, because they deny all false means, or

means not sanctified, or used in the openings and leadings of God's power and Spirit, that therefore they must deny all means, however rightly used or employed. This is an injustice to their profession and practice. Wherefore all are desired to take notice, that evangelical means and order they love and desire to keep: for they diligently assemble themselves together to wait upon God, to enable them to worship him; where they both pray and prophesy, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is revealed to them, according to primitive practice; otherwise they are silent before the Lord. Nor are they without spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts to God their Redeemer, by the same Holy Ghost, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as was the primitive practice.

SECTION V. *Of the Holy Three, or Scripture Trinity.*

Pervers. 9. The Quakers deny the Trinity.

Princ. Nothing less: they believe in the holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture. And that these three are truly and properly one; of one nature as well as will. But they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms and phrases, for schoolmen's, such as distinct and separate persons and subsistences, &c., are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they judge, that a curious inquiry into those high and Divine revelations, or into speculative subjects, though never so great truths in themselves, tend little to godliness, and less to peace

which should be the chief aim of true Christians. Therefore they cannot gratify that curiosity in themselves, or others: speculative truths are, in their judgment, to be sparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the measure and condition of Christian communion. For besides that Christ Jesus hath taught them other things, the sad consequence, in all times, of superfining upon Scripture texts, do sufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their heads outrun their hearts, and their notion exceed their obedience, and their passion support their conceits; instead of a daily cross, a constant watch, and an holy practice. The despised Quakers desire this may be their care, and the text their creed in this, as in all other points; preferring self-denial to opinion, and charity to knowledge, according to that great Christian doctrine, 1 Cor. xiii.

SECTION VI. *Of the Divinity of Christ.*

Pervers. 10. The Quakers deny Christ to be God.

Princ. A most untrue and unreasonable censure: for their great and characteristic principle being this, that Christ, as the Divine Word, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, according to John i. 9; viii. 12; which nothing but the Creator of souls can do, it sufficiently shows that they believe him to be God, for they truly and expressly own him to be so, according to Scripture; viz., In him was Life, and that Life the light of men; and he is God over all, blessed for ever.

SECTION VII. *Of the Manhood of Christ.*

Pervers. 11. The Quakers deny the human nature of Christ.

Princ. We never taught, said, or held so gross a thing, if by human nature be understood the manhood of Christ Jesus. For as we believe him to be God over all, blessed for ever, so we do as truly believe him to be of the seed of Abraham and David after the flesh, and therefore truly and properly man, like us in all things, and once subject to all things for our sakes, sin only excepted.

SECTION VIII. *Of Christ Jesus, his Death and Sufferings.*

Pervers. 12. The Quakers expect to be justified and saved by the Light within them, and not by the death and sufferings of Christ.

Princ. This is both unfairly and untruly stated and charged upon us. But the various senses of the word justification, oblige me here to distinguish the use of it; for in the natural and proper sense, it plainly implies, making men just, who were unjust; godly, that were ungodly; upright, that were depraved; as the Apostle expresseth himself, 1 Cor. vi. 11. "And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." In the other use of the word, which some call a law-sense, it refers to Christ, as a sacrifice and propitiation for sin, as in Rom.

v. 9. "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him:" and 1 John ii. 1, 2. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Which, though a great truth and most firmly believed by us, yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as he comes to believe and repent of the evil of his ways; and then it may be truly said, that God justifieth even the ungodly, and looks upon them through Christ, as if they had never sinned; because their sins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's sake.

Not that God looks on people to be in Christ, who are not in Christ; that is, who are not in the faith, obedience and self-denial of Christ; nor sanctified, nor led by his Spirit, but rebel against it; and instead of dying to sin, through a true and unfeigned repentance, live and indulge themselves daily in it; for they that are in Christ, become new creatures; old things are passed away, and all things, with them, become new. Wherefore we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all who have believed, and now do, and who hereafter shall believe in him unto justification and acceptance with God; but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his Divine light and grace in their consciences, which leads men to believe and value, and not to disown or undervalue Christ, as the common sacrifice and mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy Light in the conscience, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds

and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay, the only right way to have true living and sanctifying faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh, and to discern the Lord's body, coming and sufferings aright, and to receive any real benefit by him, as their only sacrifice and mediator: according to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, "If we walk in the light, as (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." And because this people say, that Christ's outward coming and sufferings profit not to their salvation who live in sin and rebel against this Divine light, some have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh, as a sacrifice for sin. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous application of them in and to a disobedient state. For we believe Christ came not to save men in their sins, but from their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his inward and spiritual knocks [to wit, the reproofs and convictions of his light and grace], have their consciences sprinkled with his blood (that is, discharged from the guilt of them) from dead works, to serve the living God. And so far only as men come by faith, repentance and amendment, to be Christ's, Christ is theirs, and as he has an interest in their hearts, they have an interest in his love and salvation: that is, so far as they are obedient to his grace, and take up his cross, and follow him in the ways of meekness, holiness, and self-denial, so far they have an interest in Christ, and no farther. And here there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, because such

walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for we have seen a shoal or sand here, upon which we fear many thousands have split, and which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also; viz., that because Christ died a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which he put mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given every one a talent of grace to work it out by; they presume upon that sacrifice, and sin on, without a thorough repentance, reformation and conversion to God, not dying with Christ to the world, but living in it, according to the lusts and spirit of it. Such as these may be assured, that where Christ is gone they shall never come: for says the blessed Apostle, God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every one of us from the evil of our way. So that the contrite, humble, meek, and self-denying people, are those that have the true and full benefit of Christ's coming, sufferings, and mediation, and of all those holy ends for which God his Father anointed and gave Him to the world; viz., to be the Way, Truth, and Life, Light, Leader, and Saviour, to be a King, Priest, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier, and Mediator; being sensibly felt of all such to reign over their hearts, to teach them God's royal law, to give them saving knowledge, and to mediate, atone for, sanctify and justify them in the sight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident to any moderate inquirer, that we acknowledge Christ in his double appearance; as in the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, so in the Spirit, as he is God over all, blessed for ever. Wherein is a full confession to him, both as a blessed person, and as a Divine Spirit of light and life in the soul; the want

of which necessary and evident distinction occasions our adversaries frequent mistakes about our belief and application of the Scriptures of Truth concerning Christ, in that two-fold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal Word, Light, Power, Wisdom, and Righteousness, which then took flesh, and appeared in that holy Body, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true spiritual benefit. They holding, that Light is only from him, forgiveness only through him, and sanctification only by him. So that their ascribing salvation from sin and death eternal to him, who now appears by his holy Spirit to their souls, as before expressed, cannot render him no Saviour in that age, or make void the end and benefit of his blessed appearance in the flesh on earth, or his mediation now in glory, for those that believe in him in this age. Whose doctrine pierced, whose life preached, whose miracles astonished, whose blood atoned, and whose death, resurrection, and ascension, confirmed that blessed manifestation to be no less than the Word God (the life and light of men) manifested in the flesh, according to the Apostle Paul, for the salvation of the world: and therefore properly and truly He was the Son of Man on earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in glory, as the head of our manhood, which shall also be glorified, if we now receive him into our hearts, as the true Light, that leads in the way of life eternal, and continue in well-doing to the end.

SECTION IX. *Of Good Works.*

Pervers. 13 Thus it is the Quakers set up works, and meriting by works, like the papists; whereby justification by faith in Christ is laid aside.

Princ. By no means; but they say with the Apostle James, ch. ii., that true faith in Christ cannot be without works, any more than a body can live without a spirit; and that where there is life, there is motion, and where there is no Divine life and motion, there can be no true faith; believing being a fruit of Divine life. Nay, by the comparison, if they were separable, works being compared to the Spirit, they would have the better. The very believing is an act of the mind, concurring with God's working in or upon the mind, and therefore a godly work. And no sooner is true faith begotten in a soul, but it falls to working; which is both the nature, and in some respects, the end of it.

Nor yet do we say, that our very best works, proceeding from the true faith itself, can merit; no, nor faith joined with them, because eternal life is the gift of God. All that man is capable of believing or performing can never properly be said to merit everlasting blessedness, because there can be no proportion (as there must be in case of merit) between the best works that can be performed in the life of man, and an eternal felicity. Wherefore all that man can do, even with the assistance of the holy Spirit, can never be said strictly to merit, as a debt due to the creature. But on the other hand, that right faith, and good works, which arise out of it, or will follow it, may and do obtain the

blessed immortality, which it pleaseth Almighty God to give, and to privilege the sons of men with, who perform that necessary condition, is a Gospel and necessary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny all merit from the best of works, especially by such as some papists may conceive to be meritorious. But as they, on the one hand, deny the meritoriousness of works, so on the other hand, neither can they join with that lazy faith which works not out the salvation of the soul with fear and trembling. Pray let not good works make men papists, because they make men Christians. I am sure believing and not working, and imagining a salvation from wrath, where there is no salvation or cleansing from sin, which is the cause of it, is no whit less unscriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the soul. Blessed is he that hears Christ's words and does them. The doer is only accepted. Wherefore it shall be said at the last day, not well professed, but well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Thou holy, humble, patient and meek liver; thou that lovedst me above all, and thy neighbour as thyself; enter thou. For thee and such as thou art, was it prepared from the foundation of the world. Which recompense of his faithfulness, is the infinite love of God, revealed and given to man, through Christ. For though death be the wages of sin, yet the gift of God is eternal life to such. So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works merit, neither believe they that their good works justify them: for though none are justified that are not in measure sanctified, yet all that man does, is

duty, and therefore cannot blot out old scores: for that is mere grace and favour, upon repentance, through Christ the sacrifice and mediator, our great scape-goat. So that men are not justified, because they are sanctified, but for his sake that sanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and presents them blameless, to wit, Christ Jesus, who is made unto them, as he was to the saints of old, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; that he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord.

SECTION X. *Of Water-Baptism and the Supper.*

Pervers. 14. The Quakers deny the two great sacraments or ordinances of the Gospel, baptism and the supper.

Princ. Whatever is truly and properly a Gospel ordinance, they desire to own and practise; but they observe no such language in the Scripture as in the reflection. They do confess the practice of John's baptism and the supper is to be found there; but practice only, is no institution, nor a sufficient reason of continuation. That they were then proper, they believe, it being a time of great infancy, and when the mysteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in figures and shadows, as is acknowledged by Protestants. But it is their belief, that no figures or signs are perpetual, or of institution, under the Gospel administration, when Christ, who is the substance of them, is come: though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, because of the condescension of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole Gospel dispensation, and to make the coming of Christ of none effect, to render signs and figures of the nature of the Gospel, which is inward and spiritual. If it be said, but they were used after the coming of Christ, and his ascension too; they answer, so were many Jewish ceremonies, not easily abolished, as circumcision, &c. It is sufficient to them, that water baptism was John's, and not Christ's, see Matt. iii. 11; Acts i. 5; that Jesus never used it, John iv. 2; that it was no part of Paul's commission, which if it were evangelical, and of duration, it certainly would have been, 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17; that there is but one baptism, as well as one faith, and one Lord, Eph. v. 4; and that baptism ought to be of the same nature with the kingdom of which it is an ordinance, and that is spiritual. The same holds also as to the supper, both alluding to old Jewish practices, and used as a signification of a near and accomplishing work; viz., the substance they represented.

If any say, but Christ commanded that one of them should continue in remembrance of him; which the Apostle to the church of Corinth explains thus; that thereby they do show forth the Lord's death till he comes; we allege, that he that said so, told his disciples also, that he would come to them again; that some should not taste death till they saw him coming in the kingdom; and that he that dwelleth with them, should be in them; and that he would drink no more of this fruit of the vine, till he should drink it new with them in the kingdom of God. Which is the new wine that was to be put into the new bottles, and is the wine of the kingdom; as he expresseth it in the same place

which kingdom is within, as may be read in Luke. He was the heavenly Bread that they had not yet known, nor his flesh and blood, as they were to know them; as may be seen, John vi. So that though Christ came to end all signs, yet, till he was known to be the Substance to the soul, as the great Bread of life from heaven, signs had their service with them, to show forth, and hold in hand, and in remembrance of Christ: especially to the people of that day, whose religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, shadows, and signs, of the one good thing, and substance of all, Christ manifested in his people. And that great Apostle Paul says expressly of the Jewish observations, that they were shadows of the good things to come, but the substance was of Christ. Hence it is, that the people called Quakers cannot be said to deny them; that is too hard a word; but they, truly feeling in themselves the very thing which outward water, bread and wine do signify, or point forth [to say nothing here of their abuse, and what in that case may be argued, from the instance of Hezekiah's taking away the brazen serpent by God's command], they leave them off, as fulfilled in Christ, who is in them the hope of their glory: and henceforth they have but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one bread, and one cup of blessings; and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.

SECTION XI. *Of the Resurrection, and Everlasting Recompense.*

Pervers. 15. They acknowledge no resurrection of the dead, nor rewards to come.

Princ. In this also we are greatly abused. We deny not, but believe the resurrection according to the Scripture, not only from sin, but also from death and the grave; but are conscientiously cautious in expressing the manner of the resurrection intended in the charge, because it is left a secret by the holy Ghost in the Scripture. Should people be angry with us for not expressing or asserting what is hidden, and which is more curious than necessary to be known, and in which the objectors themselves cannot be positive? Thou fool, is to the curious inquirer, as says the Apostle: which makes the Quakers contented with that body, which God shall please to give them hereafter: being assured that their corruptible shall put on incorruption, and their mortal shall put on immortality, but in such a manner as pleaseth God. And in the mean time they esteem it their duty, as well as wisdom, to acquiesce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a resurrection, and that with a glorious and incorruptible body, without farther niceties: for to that was the ancient hope.

Now as to future rewards, they not only believe them, but as the Apostle says of old, above all people, have the greatest reason so to do: for otherwise, who is so miserable? Do they inherit the reproach and suffering of all that have separated from time to time

from national churches; that is to say, are the outcries that have been against the Protestants by the Papists, and those of the Church of England against the Puritans, Brownists, and Separatists, fallen so thick upon them, and shall they hold principles inconsistent with an everlasting recompense of reward? By no means. It is their faith, their hope, their interest, and what they wait and have suffered for, and press, as an encouragement to faithfulness, upon one another: and the contrary therefore must be both an unjust and an improbable suggestion of their adversaries.

SECTION XII. *Of Civil Honour and Respect*

Pervers. 16. The Quakers deny all civil honour and respect, but what is relative or equal between men.

Princ. We honour all men in the Lord, but not in the spirit and fashion of this world that passeth away. And though we do not pull off our hats, or make courtesyings, or give flattering titles, or use compliments, because we believe there is no true honour, but flattery and sin, in the using of them; yet we treat all men with seriousness and gentleness, though it be with plainness, and our superiors with a modest and respectful distance; and are ready to do them any reasonable benefit or service, in which we think real honour consisteth. Whereas those that thus reproach us, are often proud, peevish, snappish, abusive, and oppressive, one to another; though at the same time they can give one another the cap and knee, with smooth words, which too generally they never mean: which is far from true

civility, or honouring all men in the sense that they are exhorted to by the Apostle.

As for expressing our respect to our superiors in all countries, we think it best done by obeying just laws under their government, according to the saying of the centurion unto Christ, and which Christ so much approved of; viz., when he said to one, come, and he came; to another, go, and he went; to a third, do this, and he did it. Reasonable commands, and ready obedience. This is honouring government and governors, and not empty titles, and servile and fantastic gestures, and drinking of their healths till they drink away their own; the vain and evil customs of the world, taken from the heathens' practices, and adopted by loose Christians in their conversation, and so become the fashion of the times. If to dissent from these things, be to be vile, we are contented to be accounted more vile, having Christ's commands, primitive example, and our own convictions on our side.

SECTION XIII. *Of Civil Government.*

Pervers. 17. The Quakers are enemies to all government. First, in that every one acteth according to his own conceit. Secondly, because they will not support civil government. Thirdly, because they refuse to give evidence upon oath, as the law requires.

Princ. That this is a calumny, their lives and conversations sufficiently show: for no people give the magistrates less trouble, or cause the burden to sit lighter upon their shoulders, than these people do. And for their principle, they believe magistracy to be

an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well, is worthy of double honour, and deserves to be much valued and esteemed: as such certainly do, who are a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. And farther, to show that they are a people that love order and good government, they carefully practise it among themselves: for if there be twenty meetings for worship in a county, they, peradventure, make three or four Monthly Meetings of business, and these monthly meetings are resolved into a Quarterly Meeting for the county, by such members as they severally appoint to constitute it. And all the Quarterly Meetings in the nation, by chosen men out of themselves, do constitute one general Yearly Meeting; unto which, the meetings of those people, in all parts of the world, have their recourse, by chosen messengers, or by epistles. The business of which meetings, in their several degrees, is to promote virtue and charity, peace and unity.

Pervers. 18. The Quakers will not support civil government, and so are useless, if not dangerous to government.

Princ. This also is untrue, upon experience: for what people is more industrious under government, or pay their taxes better to it than they do? And, tribute from the people, and justice from the rulers, are the support of government in all countries. It is true, indeed, that they cannot kill or slay their own kind, and so are not fit for warriors with carnal weapons of destruction, because they believe their blessed Lord forbade the use of them to his followers, when he said, They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword and that the use of the sword in war, was one of those

things that God suffered for the hardness of men's hearts, and that from the beginning it was not so. In fine, that it came in with the fall, and must go out with it also. And as Christ the repairer of breaches and restorer of paths to dwell in, comes to be known to rule in the heart, love will take place of wrath, and forgiveness overcome injury and revenge. So the lamb will be preferred before the lion, and the lion resign to and lie down with the lamb, and destruction come to a perpetual end. For which cause, the weapons of this people's warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down the strong holds of sin and satan, according to the apostle's doctrine. Which is the holy war, indeed, styled by the holy Ghost, The saints' warfare. And since so holy, lamb-like and peaceable a state, is both prophesied of and promised, as the happiness of the latter times; and that it and they take their beginning in Christ, the beginning and the end of all true Christians; let not this people be thought useless or inconsistent with government, for introducing that harmless, glorious way to this distracted world, for some body must begin it, but rather adore the providence, embrace the principle and cherish and follow the example: believing with them, that Christ, the blessed Shepherd of his flock, will ever preserve the faithful followers of his meekness and the disciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

Pervers. 19. The Quakers refuse to give evidence, &c.

Princ. It cannot be their fault, which is so much their desire, viz., To be able to give evidence upon all occasions. Nor, with justice, can it be reputed their

stubbornness, but their tenderness, since they cannot swear at all, and that the law requires an oath in evidence. Now Christ having commanded his followers not to swear at all, and that instead of an oath, or in cases where oaths are allowed under the law, their yea, yea, and nay, nay, should serve instead of swearing; and for this reason, because what is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil; and for that Christians are commanded to avoid the very appearance of evil, much more that which cometh of evil; upon these accounts they dare not swear at all. So that it is for Christ's sake, and the tender respect they bear to his evangelical, positive and general precept, that they cannot swear, who is the Truth, and has taught them to speak the truth without an oath.

Now if this would be admitted [and often they have prayed that it might be, and for want of it, are not only less serviceable to their neighbours than otherwise they could be, but are great sufferers in their persons and estates], and the government would be pleased to accept their yea, yea, and nay, nay, instead of an oath, as other countries do in the like cases, they would be ready to submit to the same punishment in case of untruth, as is due by law to perjury, and upon all occasions would be glad to help and serve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their fault, which is so much against their will, and their unhappiness and affliction.

Thus, sober reader, thou hast a brief account of this people, their principles and practice, and therefore thou mayest see, if thou pleasest, with how little reason they are despised by some, and abused by others; which

hath been their lot, in a large measure, ever since they have been a people. Though the whole bent of their spirits and testimony, since God, by his grace, hath distinguished them, has been to promote the experimental and saving knowledge of Christ Jesus in the world, by turning the minds of people from the darkness that is in them, to the light of Christ which is in them, as the great, singular and necessary agent and spirit, by which only man is enlightened and enabled to see and do the will of God. For, till men receive and are quickened by the holy Spirit, they are hypocrites and not Christians; bastards and not sons.

Neither can they have true and living faith, whatsoever they profess; nor can they truly and acceptably worship God, whatsoever they perform. O then, let the poor Quakers, and their abused principles have better entertainment with thee, reader. And do not conclude, because they direct people to the Light of Christ in them, that therefore it is a mere natural and not a Divine light; or because they assert Christ to be the Word of God, and that he is revealed in the heart, according to the Scripture, and that the Scripture, in that excellent sense, is not so; that therefore they deny the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and that the mind and truth thereof, as declared by them, is not in any sense the word of the Lord to men. Or because they do not receive the schoolmen's trinity, that therefore they deny the Scripture trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit. Or that therefore they deny the Divinity of Christ the Word. Or that they deny Christ without them, who was the Son of Man, in a suffering state on earth, and is now the Son of Man in glory, because

they exalt and press an experimental knowledge of Christ within, as the truth, substance, and excellency of the hope of the glory that hereafter shall be revealed, as being the riches of the glory of the mystery revealed, and to be revealed in these latter days, according to the Scriptures of truth. Neither do thou say, they hope to be saved by their own works, because they press the necessity of well-doing toward acceptance with God; since they maintain, that no works that are not wrought by the Spirit of God are acceptable with him; or that they hold even such works to be meritorious, because they say, good works are necessary and rewardable. Or that they are forgiven for what they do, and not for what Christ did. Or that they deny the use of means, because they reject un-gospel ones. Or that they deny baptism and the supper, because they say, they are but signs of the spiritual grace, and that they served but for a time, and that they experience their accomplishment. Neither say that they are uncivil, and honour no man, because they forbear such titles and ceremonies, in which true honour and civility do not consist. Or that they are against government, because they cannot out of tenderness, and not obstinacy, conform to it in matters relating to religion and conscience; in which Christ only is Lord and King. Since, reader, thou plainly seest, that they believe the Light to be Divine, and the Scriptures to be of Divine authority. That they own the Scripture-trinity, or Holy three, of Father, Word, and Spirit, to be truly and properly one. That Christ is God, and that Christ is man. That he came in the flesh, died, rose again, ascended, and sits on God's right hand, the only sacrifice and mediator, for man's happiness. That truly Gospel-means and

ordinances are requisite, and to be reverently practised. That good works are necessary and rewardable. That all men are to be honoured in the Lord, according to their degrees. And that government in church and state is God's ordinance, and both requisite and very beneficial.

Now, reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this holy Spirit of light and life, which they make the root and spring of all true sense of God and religion in man. Even the light within which they began with, and which comes from Christ, and indeed is Christ the eternal Word, and which brings all that follow the convictions and leadings of it, to Christ; that is, to his nature, which is meek, patient, loving, humble, harmless, self-denying, and holy; and hereby to know him in themselves according to Scripture, to be the hope of their eternal glory. Who, as he is of Abraham after the flesh, so is he God over all blessed for ever; the true light, who lighteth all, in order to life and blessedness. Unto the manifestation of whose most holy and blessed Light within, thou, reader, art earnestly exhorted. Bring thy deeds to it, and love it, and walk in it, and thou wilt assuredly have the light of life; and thy fellowship shall be with God, and with his Son and saints, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son shall cleanse thee from all sin. And whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. Which, reader, is, I know, most earnestly desired on thy behalf, by this despised and most abused people called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

Being an exhortation to all people, to turn speedily to the Lord, and seek him while he may be found, whatever persuasion they are of, or forms they are under, before the dreadful day of God's vengeance overtake them.

O YE inhabitants of the world, but more especially you that know this people, and among whom the testimony which they bear, hath been held forth; hear, and be entreated for your soul's sake! O that ye knew your Creator to be also your Redeemer! who does as certainly visit you by the spirit of the second Adam as ever he created you in the nature of the first Adam. That as in one you fell, so in the other you may arise out of your fallen and foul estate, and become a reformed, regenerate and chosen people to God. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him, said God, the Father. And what says Christ, the Son? Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For, out of Christ, out of his spirit and nature, verily we cannot have peace. No peace to the wicked, no peace to the proud and ungodly, saith the Lord. Friends, you must take up your cross daily and follow him, or ye cannot be his disciples, his followers, his people, his friends; those in whom he is well pleased. Whose doctrine is not so much the good words you read in creeds and catechisms, as it is the living teaching of his Spirit in your own hearts; and whose religion is not opinion,

but experience, not notion, but enjoyment. Life from death, and conversion, and regeneration in short, undefiledness, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord

Here is the faith of Jesus. A faith that overcomes the world, and works by love, not violence. Where zeal and charity are companions, and knowledge doth not puff up but lives and works by obedience, this is the faith and religion of Jesus: all others are the faith and religion of hypocrites and devils; which they may have, and be hypocrites and devils still. For though they believe, their faith works not by love; and though they know the truth, they obey it not.

Wherefore, friends, it behooves you much to see what faith and religion you have; and not flatter yourselves on to perdition. If it be the true, the pure, the undefiled, according to the apostle, James i. 27, then you will have light hearts, and easy consciences, and a hope that will not make you ashamed. Else, believe it, heaviness, anguish and tribulation will (whatever be your profession) overwhelm you in the day that God shall enter into judgment with you. For which cause, my dear country folks and people, be entreated while it is to-day, to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and hearken to his voice, in your own consciences, that calls you to holiness, and harden not your hearts against his reproof, for the reproof of instruction is the way to life, endless life. Did you but feel that God sees you every where and in every thing, and that continually, it would abundantly alter the case with you. Then would you say as one of old, The Lord was here and I knew it not. Fear, a holy fear would take hold of

you, an awe of the Omnipotent Majesty would seize you, and you would not do that before God, which you would be ashamed men should see you do. For no place is secret to him; the light and darkness are alike. His witness is with you as much alone, as in company, and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not then in the face of God, in contempt of his witness, in despite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whose eye penetrates the darkest coverts, and findeth out the most secret corners; even he that searches the heart and tries the reins of man, and sets his sins in order before him, and telleth unto him his most inward thoughts.

This being the case, what manner of persons ought you to be, ye children of men! Do not satisfy yourselves with out-sides, with a name, a profession, a church-membership, &c. For it is not what you say, but what you do. But turn in, and examine your own hearts, see how they stand affected towards God and his law and truth in your inward parts. Be strict and true in the search, as you would save your souls. If your minds be set on heavenly things, and holiness and charity be the zealous bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever; to live then will be Christ, and to die will be your everlasting gain. For blessed is that people and nation whose God is the Lord. But if the love and spirit of the world prevail; if pride, covetousness, and luxury, envy, bitterness, and vain-glory, that are so very opposite to the will and nature of God and his holy Lamb; if these things have power over you, flatter **not** yourselves, you cannot be true Christians, not in

favour with God, for you take his name in vain. And your very prayers and oblations are an abomination to the Lord, in that state. God calls for the heart: My son, give me thy heart. He has given man the rest; but that, God will have for himself, if man will have him for his God and friend. Deceive not yourselves, therefore, O ye sons and daughters of Adam! for believe it, such as you sow, such you must reap, and there is no repentance in the grave. And a short but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door. Yea, they are begun, if ye could but see them.

Awake then, awake out of the sleep of this world! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, salvation is from sin, or it will never be from wrath; so said the angel, Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. For it is the pure in heart that see God, and nothing unlike him can please him, and still less live with him for ever.

The eternal God reach unto you by his powerful Spirit, break your peace in the broad way, touch you deeply with a sense of your disobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within you. To conclude, make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may do, as well as say, and not only profess, but possess the truth of the living God in your inward parts; that pearl of price, that hidden and eternal treasure. So shall you know that the times

of refreshing are come from the presence of the Lord and that the kingdom is again restored unto Israel. Israel, the Prince of peace, who hath prevailed with God for man; whose sceptre is a sceptre of righteousness, and of whose dominion there shall be no end. So come Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen.

Written in behalf of the said people, for the information and good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

THE END.



